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THE MANILA GALLEON AND CALIFORNIA

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Though their eastern course lay off its coast for so long, the Manila Galleon contributed less to a knowledge of the Californias than might have been expected. The apparent paucity of these geographical results can be attributed to several causes. In the first place, it was only during the earlier period of the navigation that the customary route of the galleons lay near enough to the upper California coast to make any discoveries possible. For, by the eighteenth century they generally made their landfall well down the coast, somewhere between Point Conception and Cape San Lucas. Even when they did follow the upper coast, they kept no nearer to it than was necessary to guide their course,—that is, to make out the more prominent landmarks. Moreover, after the long and perilous crossing from the Philippines pilots and captains were averse to taking the further risks involved in a close investigation of a rather rugged and forbidding coast. Commenting on this anxiety to keep clear of the coast, Diego de Bobadilla wrote in 1640: "The captain changed his course to the south, to avoid getting caught in the land, or in some gulf, whence he would have a hard time to get out."¹ Anson also said: "As there are many islands and some shoals adjacent to California, the extreme caution of the Spanish navi-

¹Bobadilla, *Relation des Iles Philippines*, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XXIX, 310.

gators makes them very apprehensive of being engaged with the land."² A further deterrent was the dense pall of fog that so often hung over the land, concealing reefs and headlands, and which has accounted for so many lost ships in our own time. The wrecking of the *San Agustín* near Point Reyes, and the narrow escape of the *Espíritu Santo* and the *Jesus María* from destruction near Cape Mendocino were effective reminders of the perils of the upper coast.³

The most serious lacuna in the exploration of the coast between Mendocino and San Lucas,—the failure to discover San Francisco Bay,—was doubtless due in part to the fog curtain which so often obscures the mouth of the bay. However, a more potent reason must have been the fact that the entrance is flanked to the north by Point Reyes, and guarded in front by the Farallones. Fear of complication with these and with the reefs that might lie behind the Farallones drove the Spanish pilots farther to seaward and outside the latter islets. And, in view of the southeasterly trend of the coast below Point Reyes, the more direct course for the galleons was actually the one pursued to the right of the Farallones.

Furthermore, the instructions carried by the galleons discouraged any departure from the routine track; and a too inquisitive pilot or captain, who would deviate from the beaten path to explore the land to his left, was prevented by the fear that his curiosity would be invoked against him in the *residencia* which was taken at the conclusion of the voyage.⁴ After all, these were preeminently merchant ships, and the business of exploration lay outside their field, though chance discoveries were welcomed.⁵

²*A Voyage Round the World in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV*, 335.

³For the case of the *San Agustín* see below; for the other galleons see Morga, *Sucesos*, in B. and R., XVI, 28.

⁴Las instrucciones que se dan á los Generales de los Galeones de esta carrera de la Nueva España, o á los que les subcedan en el cargo para que las guarden, cumplan y executen, hagan cumplir y guardar á todos los oficiales, pasajeros, Gente de Mar y Guerra en el discurso del Viage en ida, estada y buelta, 1743, *Archivo de Indias*, 68-6-38; and Arandía, *Ordenanzas de Marina*, 1757.

⁵"Si el Bagel tomare puerto en parage poco conocido por algun acaso o necesidad, procurará sacar su plano, si es posible. . . . Y recalando siempre sobre las costas de California, o si por accidente fuera otra la que se viere, notará todo lo que reconozca de particular de las corrientes,

There were two courses open to the galleon on the discovery of the *señas*.⁶ The one was to continue ahead until land was sighted before changing direction; the alternative was to veer to the southeast at once, and make land in the region of Lower California.⁷ The former was the usual procedure in the early history of the line, as the other route was generally followed in the later part, though there was no uniformity as to the exact course during either period. In the first case the landfall was made high up on the California coast, depending, naturally, on the latitude at which the crossing had been made. A convenient and customary point for demarcation was the great headland of Cape Mendocino, as *Espíritu Santo* on Samar and *San Lucas* on Lower California were similar landmarks at other points on the route.

However, the landfall might be made at any part of the coast to the south. Humboldt says that the first land sighted was the Santa Lucia Mountains, back of the Channel of Santa Barbara.⁸ Morga, after describing the upper California coast as a "very high and clear land," says of the course southward from Mendocino: "Without losing sight of land, the ship coasts along

sondas, variaciones de la Abuja, y demas que conduzca á su gobierno, y noticia de otros." *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶The first *señas*, or signs of land, were sometimes met with several hundred miles from the American coast. There was a fairly regular succession of them as the galleon neared the land: first, the fungous *aguas malas*; then, at about a hundred leagues out, the *perillos*, "with head and ears like a dog and a tail like that they paint the mermaids with" (Gemelli Careri, in Churchill, *Voyages*, IV, 493); the *porras*, a yellow, onion-like herb, with long roots floating on the surface; finally, at thirty leagues or nearer, the *balsas*, or large bunches of grass. Morga, *op. cit.*, 204-5. Cabrera Bueno gives the color of the *porras* as green or red (*colorado*), and says that their roots were from three to four *brazos* long. *Navegacion especulativa y práctica*, 293. Cubero Sebastian, who likens them to beets, remarks as to their origin: "Vienen sobre el mar, arrojadas de aquellos caudalosos rios, que salen de aquella tierra incógnita de la Nueva España, que está en 38 á 40 grados." *Breve relacion*, 334. Cubero says of the *balsas*: "Estas hojas y raices quanto mas nos vamos llegando á tierra vienen juntas en cantidad, y los Marineros les llaman Balsas; encima destas Balsas vienen unos pescados á manera de Monillos, que los Marineros llaman Lobillos, y por mis mismos ojos los ví; juegan encima de las Balsas, y luego se zabullen dentro el agua."

⁷In the log of the *San Pedro* for October 22, 1778, in longitude 101 degrees, 25 minutes east of Manila, and latitude 31 degrees, 42 minutes, an entry reads: "We passed a green *porra*, and orders were given to steer ESE." Diario de la fragata San Pedro, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-4-25.

⁸*Essai politique*, IV, 102.

it with the NW, NNW, and N winds, which gradually prevail on the coast, blowing by day toward the land, and by night toward the sea again."⁹

For the ships that chose this route Cabrera Bueno gives the points of demarcation, which are practically in the reverse order of Vizcaino's *derrotero* of 1602.¹⁰ Turning SE by E from off Cape Mendocino, the next prominent landmark was Point Reyes, outside the sheltered harbor of Drake's Bay.¹¹ The galleons were directed not to follow the bend of the coast at this point, but to stand out a little to sea, in order to keep clear of the Farallones, which lie somewhat to the east of south.¹² Some thirty leagues south from Point Reyes the galleons sailed well out from the broad sweep of Monterey Bay, sighting the familiar Point Pinos. Thence the course lay down the barren coast by Point Concepcion, and through the Santa Barbara Channel, to the Lower California coast.¹³

⁹*Op. cit.* "She falls in first with the coast of California and then coasts along the shoar to the South again, and never misses a wind to bring her away from thence to Acapulco." Dampier, *Voyage*, I, 245.

¹⁰Cabrera Bueno, *op. cit.*, 303. Pedro Calderón Henriquez, a famous colonial official of the eighteenth century, said that this portion of Cabrera's book was based on Vizcaino's work. Calderón to Arriaga, February 24, 1769, *Archivo de Indias*, 107-1-17. For Vizcaino's voyage consult Bolton's *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*.

¹¹A document in the *Depósito Hidrográfico* at Madrid,—*Coleccion de Navarrete*, t. I, no. 15,—entitled, *Derrotero del viage de Nueva España para las Islas Filipinas y vuelta de ellas á la dicha Nueva España*, contains the following: "A la vuelta de lësueste hay una bahía grande, donde hay muchos Indios y agua, no hacen mal, comen vellotas en lugar de pan, y cangrejos. Estando en esta Bahía parecen unos islotes unos al sur, otros al luesudeste; si vinieres de mar en fuera apártate de ellos, que es tierra de 38½ grados." Though undated, this document is evidently of early date.

¹²"La nao de Filipinas navegará con confianza desde que aviste los Farallones del Puerto de San Francisco en Californias." Viceroy Branciforte to Diego de Gardoqui, June 26, 1796, *Archivo de Indias, Estado*—Mexico, *legajo* 6.

¹³Cabrera Bueno in one of the three courses which he describes, gives the following demarcation for a route involving a landfall in 35½ degrees: thence between the *cordillera* of islands and the mainland, southeast by south, along about seventy-five leagues of wooded coast, where an extra spar could be cut if there were need; to make land again at the island of Guadalupe in 29 degrees; thence a day's run to Cape San Lucas. *Op. cit.*, 295. The *San Antonio de Padua* in 1679 sighted land in 36 degrees, 29 minutes,—"some very high, whitish, and treeless mountains." Cubero Sebastian, *op. cit.*, 336. The *Rosario* made her landfall in 1702 at Point Concepcion, and the *Covadonga* in 1731 in 36 degrees, 20 minutes. *Ex-*

When the galleon turned to the southeast on the discovery of the *señas*, she made her landfall at some point along the lower coast. She sighted first either the island of Guadalupe, of Cenizas, or of Cedros.¹⁴ From the point of the peninsula she struck across to the neighborhood of Cape Corrientes, and coasted along thence to Acapulco.

The first motive for the settlement of California was the need for a way-station for these Manila Galleons.¹⁵ Cortez himself had visited the coast of the peninsula, and in 1542 the expedition of Cabrillo and Ferrelo ascended to the region of Cape Mendocino. The opening of the Philippine trade in 1566 not only increased the familiarity of the Spaniards with the coast to the southward of that promontory, but that very coast offered excellent places of refuge for the sea-worn galleons at this stage of their long voyage. Beaten by the winter storms of the north Pacific, and stricken with scurvy and famine, these vessels were in a distressful condition when they reached the shores of America. And a port between thirty and forty-two degrees—the higher the better—would have furnished a place for refitting and reprovisioning. Such ports actually existed in San Francisco and Monterey Bays.

One of the first to propose the exploration and occupation of California for this purpose was the Archbishop-Viceroy Moya de Contreras. It was he who commissioned Francisco Gali to explore the California coast with this end in view. Gali, who had already made the eastern passage from Macao,¹⁶ crossed to Manila

tracts from Journals of Voyages between the Philippines and New Spain, 1699-1731, British Museum, 19294.

¹⁴Las instrucciones, etc., *op. cit.*: Diario del viaje que hizo desde Manila á Acapulco el Galeon Santisima Trinidad, 1756-7, *Archivo de Indias*, 107-1-13.

¹⁵Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, 43. "Para proseguir el descubrimiento de aquella costa y tierra desde 41 grades á adelante es de mucha importancia, y muy necesario para la buelta de las Naos de Filipinas y de todas las partes del Poniente." Fray Andrés de Aguirre to the Archbishop-Viceroy, Moya de Contreras, 1584, *Depósito Hidrográfico, Coleccion de Navarrete*, t. 18, no. 30.

¹⁶The true and perfect description of a voyage performed and done by Francisco de Gualle . . . in the yeere of our Lord, 1584, in Hakluyt, *Voyages* (Hakluyt Society edition), IX, 326-37, taken from Linschoten's *Voyage*; Burney, *A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, II, 58-60. Navarrete describes Gali as "el hombre mas aventajado y de crédito que allí habia, y que en materia

in the *San Juan*, and provided from the viceregal treasury with 10,000 pesos for the purchase of a new ship at Manila in case the *San Juan* should be considered unseaworthy for the further prosecution of the undertaking. On the return voyage to New Spain Gali was to chart the coast of Japan, the Island of the Armenian, and California. However, Gali died in Manila, and Pedro de Unamuno was selected to carry out the commission of Gali. Contrary to instructions Unamuno put into Macao, where he intended to make some investments for disposal at Acapulco.¹⁷ In his voyage across the Pacific he could find neither the Island of the Armenian, nor the other fabulous isles, Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, whose existence was then believed in. On October 16, 1587, two small islands were discovered lying close to the mainland of America, and two days later he found a large bay which he named San Lucas, but which was very probably that of Monterey. Passing Lower California shortly after Cavendish had taken the *Santa Ana* in that vicinity, Unamuno reached Acapulco on November 22. No attempt was made to follow up the results of the voyage, which he had so unsatisfactorily recorded.¹⁸

In January, 1593, Philip II ordered the work to be taken up again, "for the security of the ships that come and go."¹⁹ In the *capitana* of the next year Viceroy Velasco sent out Sebastian Rodríguez de Cermenho, or Cermeyón, a Portuguese,—

de cosmografía podría competir con los mas escogidos de España." *Expediciones en busca del Paso del Noroeste de la America*, p. xlv. Even Navarrete accepted the evidently erroneous account of Gali's reaching the American coast in 57½ degrees, where he found a "pais hermoso, muy poblado de árboles y enteramente sin nieve." See also Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California and the other Territories on the Northwest Coast of North America from their Discovery to the Present Day*, 66; and Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 143.

¹⁷Governor Santiago de Vera to the King, April 26, 1587, B. and R., VI, 307.

¹⁸Relacion y derrotero del viage y descubrimiento que hizo el capitán Pedro de Unamuno, desde los puertos de Macan y Canton hasta el de Acapulco en Nueva España, 1587, *Archivo de Indias*, 1-1-3-25. Villamanrique to the King, November 29, 1588, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-10. See Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico*, 24-29, and notes. Richman translates the essential part of the *Relacion y derrotero*, a copy of which exists in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

¹⁹King to Viceroy, January 17, 1593, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-11.

"because there are no Castillians suited for the work."²⁰ Dasmariñas, the governor of the Philippines, was ordered to do all possible to aid the expedition. On July 5, 1595, Cermenho cleared from Cavite in the *San Agustín*, a vessel of 130 tons, and with about seventy men on board.²¹ Latitude 42 degrees was reached on October 22, and on November 11 land was sighted a short distance above Cape Mendocino. Cermenho described the coast thereabouts as very rough, and very dangerous on account of the strong wind that blew landward and the many islets and reefs near the shore. Thence the *San Agustín* coasted southward, and finally put into Drake's Bay, which on December 6 Cermenho named "Bay of San Francisco." Entradas were made inland a few leagues in search for provisions, and though reported to be a pleasant country and fit for the cultivation of any crop, little food was found save acorns. On returning from one of these excursions Cermenho found to his dismay that the *San Agustín* had been thrown on the rocks. After this disaster the work of exploration had to be abandoned for the elemental need of self-preservation.²² From what could be salvaged of the ship a launch was constructed, and in this craft the survivors made their way after many hardships to the inhabited coasts of New Spain. They left the region of Point Reyes on December 8, and keeping about a league off shore they covered some ten leagues the first day. The next day they passed Half Moon Bay, but so far they had discovered "nothing of moment," though they must have steered close to the mouth of the greater San Francisco Bay.²³ On the tenth they saw an *ensenada muy grande*,

²⁰Velasco to the King, April 6, 1594, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-11.

²¹"Se despacharon tres naos, . . . y *San Agustín* del capn Pedro Sarmiento que so color del descubrimiento del Cavo Mendozino lo despacho de aqui el Gobernador." Francisco de Lasmissas to the King, Manila, June 16, 1596, *Archivo de Indias*, 67-6-29. Derrotero y relacion del descubrimiento que hizo el Capitan y Piloto mayor Sebastian Rodriguez Cermenho por orden de su magestad, hasta la Isla de Cedros, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-16.

²²Informacion sobre la calidad de la tierra que se vido en el puerto que se tomó, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-12. Bancroft says: "Cermenon's pilot, Bolaños, visited this port with Vizcaino in 1603, and his statement is all there is extant of the voyage." *North Mexican States*, I, 147. See note on p. 372 of Richman, *op. cit.* Richman was the first to use the *Derrotero y relacion* from the *Archivo de Indias*.

²³"Me parece que se convence y colige claro que algunas vayas de las Principales y donde mas se podia esperar de hallar puerto, las atravesaron

which they named San Pedro, but which was clearly Monterey Bay. Their voyage thence southward was attended with increasing privations, and they were driven to desperate expedients for food. They subsisted at first on "bitter acorns," and ate a dog which they had on board,—“even to his hide.” They bartered for food with the Indians pieces of silk which they had saved from the *San Agustín*, and at one of the channel islands they took thirty fish, which they devoured “forthwith.” Later they fed for eight days on a huge fish, which they found on the shore, where it “had been killed.” At last they reached the Spanish settlements, Cermenho and most of the survivors going ashore at Navidad, while a few others,—Juan de Morgana, a pilot, and several seamen, entered Acapulco harbor on the last of January, 1596.²⁴ The geographical results of the expedition were inconsequential, for the loss of the *San Agustín* occurred at the very moment when her task had begun, and she had reached the neighborhood of San Francisco Bay.²⁵

The prosecution of the California project depended largely on the attitude of the reigning viceroy. Whereas Contreras and the Velascos enthusiastically promoted it,²⁶ Villamanrique was lukewarm or positively hostile, as Montesclaros was later. Gaspar de Zuñiga y Azevedo, Conde de Monterey, who succeeded the elder Velasco in the viceregal office in 1595, was even more energetic than his predecessor in the promotion of northern ex-

de punta á punta, y de noche, y en otras entraron poco; á todo debio dar ocasion forzosa la hambre y enfermedad con que dicen que venfan que los harfan apresurar el Viage.” Viceroy Monterey to the King, April 19, 1596, in *Anuario de la Direccion de Hidrografia*, XX, 410.

²⁴*Oficiales Reales* to Monterey, Acapulco, February 1, 1596, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-12.

²⁵Navarrete wrongly says of the *San Agustín*: “Salió á la mar, y regresó sin haber podido desempeñar su encargo.” *Op. cit.*, p. XLI.

²⁶“Cuidado me de la navegacion de las Islas Filipinas porque de vuelta de ellas siempre hay desgracias, . . . y todas suceden por ser la navegacion muy larga y no tener puerto en la tierra firme, donde hacer escala y proveerse de lo necesario y por remediar este daño deseo mucho descubrir los puertos de la tierra firme y demarcarlos y saber sus alturas.” Velasco to the King, May 31, 1591, in *Anuario de la Direccion de Hidrografia*, XX, 408. Advertimientos que el Virrey Don Luis de Velasco dio al Conde de Monterey, su sucesor en el gobierno de la Nueva España, *Biblioteca Nacional*, document J-13, f. 167, sect. 5. However, Velasco was hindered by lack of funds from prosecuting the search. Velasco to the King, October 8, 1593, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-11.

ploration and settlement. He declared to the King that, in spite of the loss of the *San Agustín*, the work of exploring the upper coast should be resumed at once.²⁷ He recommended, however, that future operations should be conducted from Acapulco by the direct route taken by Cabrillo and Drake, rather than by the roundabout voyage via the Philippines. It was due to his initiative that the expeditions of Sebastian Vizcaino were undertaken in 1596 and 1602. The first of these voyages did not reach the region of upper California, and was of no consequence for the galleon navigation. The expedition of 1602 was, however, better organized and carried out on a larger scale. In a long voyage that was accompanied with many hardships the coast was explored to above Mendocino.²⁸ Besides the port of San Diego, which Cabrillo had entered, Vizcaino also visited and carefully reconnoitered the fine bay which, after the far-seeing viceroy, he named Monterey.²⁹ He declared this harbor "all that could be desired as a way-station for the galleons." Not only was there a safe anchorage, but there was an ample supply of good timber thereabouts for the repairing of the ships. Vizcaino praised, too, the excellence of the climate and the evident fertility of the soil in the neighborhood, while he received reports from the Indians of rich deposits of gold in the mountains in the interior. It appeared altogether a most promising situation for such a settlement as the viceroy contemplated,³⁰ with possibilities, moreover, independent of its advantages as a galleon station. A little higher up the coast Vizcaino passed well out from the entrance of San Francisco Bay, and of course he failed to find that will-of-wisp of the North,—the strait of Anian. But an excellent series of charts of such of the coast as had been made known were drawn,³¹ and the acquaintance gained with the region formed

²⁷Summary of letter of Monterey to the King, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-12.

²⁸"A resultado entera luz en lo que se deseava y claridad de que ay dos otros puertos buenos." Monterey to Montesclaros, Acapulco, March 28, 1604, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-15. See Bolton, *op. cit.*, for the details of Vizcaino's voyage.

²⁹Vizcaino to the Council of the Indies, Monterey, December 28, 1602, in *Anuario de la Direccion de Hidrografia*, XX, 450.

³⁰Monterey to the King, March 26, 1603, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-14.

³¹See Richman, p. 22, for reproductions of two sections of this series. The Bancroft Library contains copies of the entire series.

a sufficient basis for the preliminary occupation of a port, whether San Diego or Monterey.

The viceroy determined to push the project to execution as early as possible, and accordingly planned to send out Vizcaino again as a commander of the galleons for 1604, with the further intention that the latter should examine the vicinity of the proposed settlement even more minutely on his return from the Philippines. He takes this occasion to laud the work of Vizcaino, whom he calls a skilled and trustworthy navigator. "He will give," said Monterey, "very good account of anything he undertakes at sea."³² However, even then Vizcaino's removal had already been decreed, and Monterey, although acquiescing in the royal resolution, inspired by some sinister influence or other, strongly advised the reinstatement of the veteran discoverer. Monterey himself had already been promoted to the other vice-royalty, and was at Acapulco, awaiting a ship to carry him south to Peru.

The prospects for the continuation of the California plans were not bright. Not only were those two men who were responsible for their ultimate execution, and who moreover enthusiastically desired their consummation, now officially powerless to further them, but the new viceroy, Mendoza y Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros, was avowedly hostile to the whole project, and no friend to the galleon trade. He formally deprived Vizcaino of his commission for the further exploration of the California coast, and substituted for him one Diego de Mendoza.³³ He considered Vizcaino sufficiently recompensed by his appointment as *alcalde mayor* of Tehuantepec. The grandee was personally aggrieved at the Basque sailor, whom he charged with writing a letter to some high personage to the effect that the easiest way for Montesclaros to fulfill his duty to him (Vizcaino) and to make himself rich was to appoint him commander of the Philippine ships for the following year.

However, in 1606 the king—Philip III,—on the recommendation of the Council of the Indies and of the chief Cosmographer,

³²Monterey to the King, Otumba, November 12, 1603, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-14. "Sabrá dar muy buena cuenta de qualquier negocio de la mar, y a mi parecer la dará assimismo en cargas de justicia."

³³Montesclaros to the King, October 28, 1605, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-15.

ordered measures to be taken to establish a post on the California coast that could serve as a way-station for the Manila Galleons.³⁴ The viceroy was commanded to entrust the expedition to the indispensable Vizcaino, who was to proceed by way of the Philippines, where he should receive whatever aid he might need from the governor before returning eastward to the California coast.³⁵ Montesclaros was meanwhile to raise the necessary soldiers and colonists for the peopling of the new post, of which Vizcaino would lay the preliminary foundations. The royal decree reached Mexico April 11, 1607,—long delayed by shipwreck. It was impossible to put it into execution that year, as the Acapulco galleons had cleared a month before, and Vizcaino had gone to Spain in the previous *flota*.³⁶

It was on this occasion that Montesclaros made the counter-proposal which postponed the occupation of California for more than a century and a half.³⁷ While acknowledging the importance of a way-station for the galleons,³⁸ he declared against the establishment of such a post on the California coast, although he conceded that Monterey might be used in lieu of anything better. The sailors, he contended, considered their voyage virtually ended when they sighted the coasts of California, and usually passed Monterey Bay with all sail set for Acapulco. The real danger lay near the beginning of the route,—in the seas off Japan and thereabouts. And here, the viceroy believed, were two islands providentially situated for the purpose in question,—Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata. The existence of these islands was generally believed in at this time, except by the experienced pilots of the galleon line. Imagination endowed them with the usual fabulous riches of lands that never existed, and they were destined to take their place in the geography of Spanish fantasy,

³⁴*Real cédula*, 1606, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-15.

³⁵The King to Governor Acuña, August 19, 1606, B. and R., XIV, 185-189.

³⁶Burney wrongly says that preparations for the occupation of California were stopped by the death of Vizcaino. *A Chronological History of Discoveries in the South Seas or Pacific Ocean* (1803), II, 258. This error is repeated in Coman, *The Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, I, 15.

³⁷Montesclaros to the King, May 24, 1607, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-16.

³⁸"Importantísimo es hallar puerto donde hagan escala los navíos de buelta de viage de Filipinas porque en tan larga navegacion la mayor parte del peligro es no tener donde reparar los daños que se reciben."

along with El Dorado and Quivira. "Everything," says the Jesuit Murillo Velarde, "was thrown into confusion by the fantastic and pernicious idea of the islands of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata,—a sort of Barataria of Sancho Panza."³⁹ Montesclaros followed his recommendation of May 24 with a stronger representation in August, in which he invokes new and doubtful arguments against the occupation of California.⁴⁰ A post there, he charges, would only entice foreigners to that region, and so endanger the Spanish possession of that area, as well as imperil the galleon navigation. Monterey was too far from the ports of New Spain to be easily defended or reinforced, and such a port, if populated, would be the common property of friend and foe alike. Such a state of affairs would cause "perpetual disquietude" on the coasts of Peru and New Spain. Finally Montesclaros would substitute for the reality of California two islands whose very existence was problematical.

The *junta de guerra y Indias*, which was called to consider the viceroy's proposal, endorsed the recommended change, and decreed that, "before he does anything else," the new viceroy, the younger Velasco, should take measures for the discovery of Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata.⁴¹ The 20,000 pesos which were to pay the initial costs of the establishment at Monterey were diverted to financing the wild-goose-chase in the western Pacific. Only in case the isles of fancy should actually be demonstrated to be inferior to the California coast as a site for a way-station should Monterey be occupied. In September of the following year (1608) the *junta's* endorsement was incorporated into law in an order to the viceroy, to the effect that Vizcaino should be despatched around by the Philippines to search for Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata.⁴² The vacillating government, at the mercy of the most insistent petitioner of the moment, formally reversed its earlier decision, and California was left to lie fallow through the long decadence of Spain until the revival in the eighteenth

³⁹*Geographia Histórica, libro IX*, p. 183.

⁴⁰Montesclaros to the King, Acapulco, August 4, 1607, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-16.

⁴¹*Junta de guerra y Indias, consulta*, February 18, 1607, *Archivo de Indias*, 58-3-16. This *junta* consisted of the Conde de Lemos and six others.

⁴²The King to Velasco, September 27, 1608, B. and R., XIV, 273.

century. It was 1611 before Vizcaino went to the westward in quest of the two islands, and though they were of course never found, the alternative project of Monterey was not resumed.

In the interval between the suspension of the California design and its resumption 160 years later the interest shifted to Lower California, in which may be included the harbour of San Diego.⁴³ This region had been better known from early times than was the northwest coast. Attention was again drawn to it by Fray Antonio de la Ascension, who had accompanied Vizcaino on his northern expedition. In June, 1609, he recommended to the king the establishment of a settlement on the Bay of San Bernabé by Cape San Lucas, where the galleons could put in,—“leaving Monterey, which is to be populated.” The proposal was reviewed by the Council of the Indies, and then submitted to the examination of Viceroy Velasco.⁴⁴ However, this project bore no immediate fruit, though it probably furnished the initial impulse for the numerous expeditions which were despatched to the region of Lower California during the seventeenth century. Other motives were at work in these movements, too, than the need for a way-station for the galleons. There were lucrative pearl fishing grounds in those waters. The gathering of the *picilingues*, or foreign privateers and pirates, in that vicinity from Cavendish and Spilbergen to the later irruptions of the buccaneers exposed a very vulnerable outwork of New Spain to occupation and the Philippine commerce to attacks. In 1712 Woodes Rogers said of the Spanish policy towards Lower California: “They are jealous to keep what they have; and though they make no Use of their Land, might be afraid of Rivals.”⁴⁵ Also there was a geographical interest in the question as to whether California

⁴³See Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, II, *passim*; and Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, *passim*.

⁴⁴The King to Velasco, April 14, 1609, *Archivo de Indias*, 87-5-2. “Fray Antonio de la Ascension, descalço de la orden de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, me escrivió por carta de 18 de Junio del año pasado las conveniencias que seguirían de hazerse una poblacion en el Cavo de San Lucas . . . en el puerto ó baya de San Bernabé dexando al de Monterey que a entendido está mandado poblar pues por estar aquel puerto de San Bernabé en altura de veinte y tres grados y en sitio mejor sera mucho mas á proposito que el de Monterey para hazer escala las naos de la contratacion de las Filipinas.”

⁴⁵*A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, 286.

was island or peninsula, and in the associated problems of Anian and Quivira. And finally the northward missionary advance in New Spain was about to reach the field of Lower California,—especially the Jesuit phase of this movement. These objects, singly or conjointly, formed the impulse for the expeditions of those from Cardona to Otondo who undertook voyages to the region of the Gulf of California. But little came of all this for the galleons. It was long after 1700 before they could find a refuge on the southern coast.

With the Bourbons there came a new interest in California. In 1703, and again in 1708, Philip V ordered the establishment of a post on the coast, preferably near the Cape, but the colonial officials did not execute the royal decree.⁴⁶ Then, in 1719 the king proposed the founding of a settlement on San Diego Bay, on the advice of Julio de Olibán, an *oidor* of Guadalajara.⁴⁷ The port is described as “capacious, pleasant, and well-situated,” and, says the king, it should be settled “before the enemies of my crown occupy it.” For the immediate impetus of the proposal came from the fear of the intentions of the English, who had been so prevalent on that coast for the past several years. The settlement of either San Diego or Monterey would, declared the king, preserve the coast from the temporary depredations or more serious dangers from foreigners. It was suggested to Viceroy Valero that the new *presidio* could be garrisoned with *gente ociosa* from Mexico,—a possible inexhaustible source of colonists. But this project, too, became a dead letter when it reached New Spain,—and San Diego was not settled till 1769, after another half-century of delay.

Except for the urgings of the indefatigable Jesuit, Padre Kino, who was pushing the frontier of New Spain landwards up the east coast of the Gulf and towards Upper California,⁴⁸ the im-

⁴⁶“Haciendo en él alguna fortificacion ó Poblacion en que los Navegantes refrescasen el rancho y descansasen del trabajo de tan dilatado viaje.” The King to Viceroy Albuquerque, July 26, 1708, *Archivo de Indias*, 103-3-3.

⁴⁷The King to Viceroy Valero, February 18, 1719, *Archivo de Indias*, 103-3-4.

⁴⁸“Se podrá pasar asta la contra costa de la mar de la California y a su Cavo Mendosino al puerto de Monterey y podrá aver escala para el Nao de China ó Galeon de Filipinas, y juntamente algun comercio para

pulse for the occupation of Lower California during the next few years came from the Philippines, where the lack of such an establishment was keenest felt.⁴⁹ The galleons of 1732 carried orders to unite in the Bay of San Diego, and though they approached its entrance they were prevented by rough weather from going in. The next year Governor Valdés ordered the galleons to put in at Magdalena Bay, in case their commanders considered it advisable, and in 1734 he directed Joseph Bermúdez and Geronimo Montero, generals of the outgoing galleons, to reconnoiter the coast of Lower California for a site for a way-station. Montero put in at the Bay of San Bernabé, where the Jesuits had founded the Mission of San Joseph del Cabo four years before. He had but one day's water supply left and scarcely any provisions, while several were sick with the beri-beri, "whose only remedy is to go ashore."⁵⁰ There were taken into the galleon 100 head of sheep and hogs, 40 head of cattle, numerous game-birds, fruits, and vegetables, "and other gifts." Those on board were so revived that at Navidad, down the coast on the other side of the Gulf, people remarked: "It is not possible that these men are China sailors, because we are accustomed to see in those of so difficult a navigation the aspect of dead men, or of mortified penitents."⁵¹ The following year the *Encarnacion* stopped at the Cape Mission in nearly as great distress as the galleon of 1734. However, the Jesuit station had meanwhile been blotted out in an Indian rising, in which the missionaries in charge were murdered. The party sent ashore from the gal-

estas provincias de Sonora y Nueva Vizcaya y Nueva Galicia al Norte y Noroeste se podrá ir intrando hasta la gran Quivira y hasta el Gran Teguayo, y hasta el estrecho de Anian, y quisas tambien por alla se podrá abrir camino y mas breve nabegacion para España." Kino, *Favores celestiales*, 1699-1710, MS. copy in possession of Herbert E. Bolton.

⁴⁹*Traslado de peticion auto y informacion*, etc., Mexico, April 26, 1735, *Archivo de Indias*, 67-3-29. This is an interesting *expediente* on the need for a way-station at Cape San Lucas.

⁵⁰"A no haver allado puerto en California hubiera perecido toda su gente." Gaspar Rodero to Miguel de Villanueva, January 21, 1738, *Archivo de Indias*, 67-3-29.

⁵¹"Il Capitano del Vascello ne informa il Vice re, e questi ordino, che d'allora innanzi tutti i vascelli delle isole Filippine facessero scala nel porto di San Barnaba. Lo stesso venne ordinato del Governo di quelle isole." Clavigero, *Storia della California*, II, 83.

leon, ignorant of the fate of the Jesuits, were set upon by the revolted Indians and thirteen of the Spaniards killed.⁵²

The mission was soon re-established and the galleons called there with considerable regularity until the suppression of the Society in 1767. How far the liberality of the padres was dictated by charitable motives has been a matter of controversy which cannot be discussed here. The chaplain of Anson's *Centurion*, Richard Walter, raised the issue, and Murillo Velarde answered the aspersion that those of his order were moved by the profits of their trading with the galleon rather than by "Christian charity."⁵³ Bancroft insists that it was only due to the Jesuit influence that the galleon put in at the Cape, which he declares was not to the ship's advantage, but only that the Jesuits might drive "quite a lively trade."⁵⁴

In 1774 Josef de Gálvez charged that the Jesuits never did anything more than collect the government subsidy, while doing nothing for the royal interest in return.⁵⁵ "That famous cape," with its excellent, well-sheltered bay of San Bernabé, he declares, they had left in total abandon.

The successful and definitive effort for the occupation of Upper California which was made in 1769 was the result of a composite of forces, the first of which was the two-century-old need for a galleon station, and the newest of which was the fear of Russian aggressions on the northern coasts. Not only had the Russians crossed to the American mainland from Siberia, but an ominous advance southward from Alaska did not portend well for Spain's possessions in that direction.⁵⁶ And between 1764-69

⁵²Viceroy Vizarrón to the King, April 23, 1735, *Archivo de Indias*, 67-3-29.

⁵³*Geographia Histórica*, libro IX, p. 181. Venegas also denies the allegation. *Op. cit.*, III, 222. "Nuestra compañía, madre de enfermos y desvalidos." Kino, *op. cit.*

⁵⁴*North Mexican States*, I, 468.

⁵⁵Gálvez to Arriaga, March 8, 1774, *Archivo de Indias*, 104-6-16. "Deberán situarse y perseverar de continuo en el Cabo de San Lucas que es el sitio mas expuesto y la llave de la California de Sur."

⁵⁶Pedro Calderón Enríquez to Arriaga, February 24, 1769, *Archivo de Indias*, 107-1-17. In the previous November Calderón had proposed from Manila the abolition of the post on Guam and the diversion of the expenses of its maintenance,—about 32,000 pesos a year,—to the foundation of a post on the California coast. Twenty-one years before Calderón, an *oidor*

the expeditions of Byron, Wallis-Carteret, and Bougainville appeared in the Pacific, while in the latter year Cook rounded Cape Horn and crossed the South Sea to New Zealand and Australia.⁵⁷ The Spaniards saw in these more than astronomical or geographical curiosity, and dreaded above all the colonial ambitions of England, whose hold on the Philippines in 1762 had for a moment brought her to the edge of the Pacific.⁵⁸ In the face of all this it became increasingly clear to the Spaniards that actual possession alone would insure to her what she would keep. No papal bulls or sweeping claims would longer avail. Further, the final occupation of California would be rendered easier by the progress of the *misión* field toward the northwest through the work of such men as Kino. There was no longer the wide gap between the inhabited parts of New Spain and the Upper California coast, and thus entire reliance did not have to be placed upon the sea route as an avenue to the north. The policy of Spain was also now under different guidance than it had had under the fainéant Hapsburgs. It was directed by the modern and enlightened Charles III, and by a body of ministers and colonial officials as advanced as the monarch. Among these was the energetic and masterly Josef de Gálvez, who, as *visitador-general* of New Spain, not only saw the pressing necessity of consummating the long-delayed occupation of Upper California, but his was the driving will that drove it to execution.⁵⁹ A combined missionary and military *entrada* into California in 1769

at Manila, had urgently advised the occupation of Monterey. Calderón to the King, July 12, 1748, *Archivo de Indias*, 68-4-32.

⁵⁷Probably the best summary of these voyages is in Heawood, *A History of Geographical Discovery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1912).

⁵⁸Spaniards had long realized the strategic value of the Philippines as a bulwark for the defence of the American coasts against aggressions from the west. Grau y Monfalcón, *Justificación de la conservación, y comercio de las Islas Philipinas*, 1640, in Abreu, *Extracto historical*, f. 7. Simón de Anda warned the Spanish government in 1768 that the abandonment of the Philippines would result in the loss of Spain's American empire. Anda to Arriaga, July 7, 1768, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-3-17. Anda was Governor of the Philippines from 1762 to 1764, and from 1770 to 1776.

⁵⁹On Gálvez see the comprehensive work by Herbert I. Priestley,—*José de Gálvez Visitor-General of New Spain* (1765-1771), (Berkeley, 1916). On the whole subject of "the northwestward expansion of New Spain" consult Charles E. Chapman's *The Founding of Spanish California* (New York, 1916).

laid the foundations of presidios and missions. And not only were Spaniards in actual possession of Monterey at last, but the far superior harbor of San Francisco was discovered. By 1776 San Diego, Monterey and San Francisco, with a connecting line of missions, had been founded. Either of the ports in question would make a suitable port-of-call for the Manila galleons.

On June 22, 1773, the Council of the Indies decreed that the galleons should put in at Monterey, both for their own good and for the welfare of the colony, and on December 14 a royal order was issued to the same effect.⁶⁰ But though a fine of 4000 pesos was imposed on the commander of the galleon for failure to stop, the most of them preferred to continue on their way and risk the possibility of paying the fine rather than endure the delay.

The governors of the Philippines, save in the case of Basco y Vargas,⁶¹ were furthermore lenient in holding the galleon officers to account, while Berenguer de Marquina actually took it upon himself to suspend the royal order of October, 1777.⁶² However, in 1795 the king himself suspended his previous order. At that time the Marqués de Bexamar declared that it was not to the advantage of colony or vessel that the *nao* should call at a California port.⁶³ Against Monterey he alleged that the harbor was

⁶⁰*Archivo de Indias*, 108-3-9. This order reviews the attempts made in the early seventeenth century to bring about the occupation of Monterey. "Por Real Cédula de 19 de Agosto de 1606 se mandó con consideracion á lo mucho que importaba á la salvacion y seguridad de las Naos que vienen de esas islas en navegacion de 2000 leguas de golfo lanzado que tengan puerto en el camino donde repararse y proveerse de leña, agua y bastimentos."

⁶¹Basco y Vargas to Gálvez, Ronda, August 18, 1777, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-4-27.

⁶²Berenguer to the Conde de Tépa, January 17, 1791, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-4-27. "Todos aseguran ser peligroso y muy difieil el puerto de Monterey, y ademas de esto, no llevando como no llevan cosa alguna que desembarcar allí, ni haciendo otro gasto que el de un refresco de carnes y hortalizas, el pretendido fomento de aquel establecimiento no se podrá conseguir jamás de este modo." Berenguer to Antonio Valdéz, July 10, 1789, *Archivo de Indias*, 107-5-17.

⁶³Marques de Baxamar to the Governor of the Philippines and the Viceroy of New Spain, March 5, 1795, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-4-27. "El Virrey Conde de Revillagigedo en carta de 27 de Enero de 1790 . . . dice que los riesgos de esta escala son despreciables." Council of the Indies, *consulta*, January 27, 1794, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-4-27. One of the strongest advocates of the California station was the Hispanicized Englishman, Philip

too shallow for the galleon to tie up there. The ordinary route of the galleons was at this period far out from the Upper California coast, and they must accordingly leave their course to reach San Francisco and Monterey. Sometimes too they passed by the entrances of these bays under full sail for Acapulco a month to the southward. The ban placed by Viceroy Bucarely in 1773 on trading between the galleon and the colonists—whether laymen or priests—moreover removed one of the main incentives for stopping.⁶⁴ Felipe de Neve, governor of the new province, even prohibited the missionaries from going aboard the galleons, while Gonzáles, commandant at Monterey, was arrested for trading with the galleon.⁶⁵ In view of the potentialities of the region, such an illiberal prohibition greatly restricted the economic growth of the colony, not only by depriving it of an outlet for its productions, but of its best source of supplies,—the Philippines.⁶⁶

As it was, but few galleons put in at the California ports. The first was the *San José*, which called at Monterey in 1779.⁶⁷ In 1784 Basco y Vargas gave the *San Felipe* (Bruno de Heceta, General, and Antonio Maurelle, Pilot) specific orders to stop at San Francisco or Monterey.⁶⁸ The *San Felipe* reached Monterey October 10, and remained there till November 7 before proceeding for Acapulco, which she reached on December 11.⁶⁹ The *San José* stopped again the next year, storm-wracked and pest-ridden; but in 1786 the *San Andrés* passed by, although she lost

Thompson, "frigate's ensign and first-pilot of the royal navy." Thompson to the King, January 10, 1777, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-4-27.

⁶⁴Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 217; see also 440-43.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 384, 470.

⁶⁶The trade in the furs of marine animals offered a very promising field. Ciriaco González Caravajal, Expediente sobre establecer por la Compañía de Filipinas un comercio de pieles de nutrias castores y Lobos marinos de la costa de California, February 3, 1786, *Archivo de Indias*, 104-5-19. There is also in the *Archivo de Indias* an interesting document on this subject, without date or signature. *Estado, Audiencia de Filipinas, legajo*, no. 4, document no. 3.

⁶⁷Palou, *Noticias*, II, 363.

⁶⁸Pedro Basco to Gálvez, Manila, June 22, 1784, *Archivo de Indias*, 105-4-6.

⁶⁹*Idem to idem*, Acapulco, December 22, 1784, *Archivo de Indias*, 105-4-6.

thirty-six with the scurvy, and left forty-five more at San Blas to convalesce.⁷⁰ In 1795 two galleons put in at Monterey, while two years later one put in at Monterey and another at Santa Barbara.

⁷⁰Pedro Basco to Bernardo de Gálvez, December 29, 1786, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-4-25. Basco frankly says: "Luego que tomé la determinacion de hacer el viaje, la hice igualmente de no arriivar al puerto de Monterey en la costa de la Nueva California, como está mandado por S. M." *Audiencia* of Mexico to Gálvez, January 4, 1787, *Archivo de Indias*, 108-4-25.